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ABSTRACT

This discussion focuses on several principles and models of early childhood education which have been used to improve children's ability to live and work with others. Modern problems of socialization in early childhood are discussed in terms of the generation gap in industrial societies, the development of the "private" family with minimal neighbourhood contacts, children's learning modalities, situational determinants of learning as well as the limitations of stimulus response and modeling theories of behavior and development. Human consciousness is discussed in terms of intentionality, self-awareness and motive-based developmental phases that begin with children's self-centered gratification of needs and progress to their awareness of problems. These discussions are linked by an emphasis on the importance of children's emotional experience for their social development. A match between the child's ability and need to love and a lovable outside world of experience is what is wanted but which, in educational practice, is frequently found wanting. The teacher's basic task is to provide the space, time, materials, and the careful, loving presence that lend themselves to positive encounters. The fact that, across history, some educators have been aware of these needs of children is seen in the works of Plato, Pestalozzi, Steiner, Montessori and Gmeiner, whose educational ideas and programs are discussed in this paper as successful models of early childhood education. (Author/RH)

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Le jeune enfant, citoyen à part entière?

The young child, a full-fledged citizen?

El ninõ ¿ un miembro integrante de la sociedad?

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"SOCIALIZATION OF YOUNG CHILDREN: SUCCESSFUL PRINCIPLES AND MODELS."

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Introduction

> "We in this country,
> being far removed from the more
> cultivated parts of the world,
> have need to use utmost care
> and diligence to keep up learning
> and all helps to education among us,
> lest degeneracy, barbarism, ignorance,
> and irreligion do by degrees
> break in upon us."

This warning of Jonathan Mitchell of Massachusetts[1] is as relevant today, as it was in 1663, but no longer only for America, as a country "far removed from the more cultivated parts of the world..." All civilized nations in the world encounter nowadays these dangers of barbarism, ignorance, irreligion.

We educators who have come from all over the world to deliberate and study the problem of educating our young children so that they might become "full-fledged citizens" stand in the long line of those who were concerned with this task: from Antiquity, through the Middle Ages and the times when this continent was discovered and settled, we see the attempts to lead children and youth into the world where they have to live. There is much to learn from their experience. We must learn indeed because we do not have time to waste on futile experimentation.

Too long have we allowed incompetent and dogmatic ideologists to experiment with our children, tinker with schools and use education as vehicles for ideas that are alien to the purposes of pedagogy. It is a tragedy that the real progress of science with its insights in human psychology and physiology has hardly reached our classrooms, let alone the homes, while the most obscure and often absurd ideologies have succeeded to influence our curricula, methodology and contents of education.

At the same time, well-proved materials and methods have often been abandoned just because they were "old-fashioned".
We have now the results of such irresponsible tampering with education: particularly those nations with well-developed education systems encounter unprecedented problems. The U.S.A., for example, have the highest drop-out rate of any nation in the world; Germany, once providing the models for education throughout the Western world, faces high juvenile delinquency and suicide, drug addiction and apathy.
It is the occurrence of such problems that made us choose the topic "socialization" for this congress of educators. Our concern is not to find scapegoats but to find solutions. In this paper, the focus is on successful principles and models of early childhood education which, in the past and today, have been applied in the effort to develop the children's ability to live with others and work with others.

We will first clarify and discuss the principles of socialization and consciousness and then show how they have been applied in some models of early childhood education. Some illustrations may reinforce the presented ideas and challenge all of you to re-think some of the assumptions about the young child, widen your perspective and deepen your concern for the children's needs and potential for successful and happy living.

I. Socialization of the Young Child

The question whether man is a ζῶον πολιτικόν by nature or by decision has been disputed for more than two thousand years. Those who tend to believe that humans differ essentially from animals by a lack of instincts and the need to learn almost everything in order to survive, seem to prevail, but the controversy has not been resolved. The fact is, that man has to learn, i.e. to acquire the skills and attitudes vital to live in society. It takes about 20 years for an individual to become a full-fledged citizen in a civilized society. Though born into a social structure, the young child is not civilized or cultivated, nor is he (she) social. The first years are characterized by total dependence on others but at the same time by a-social behavior which we call ego-centricity.

This ego-centricity is a normal phase of development but it must be overcome gradually. By the age of eight, a child becomes increasingly able to "function" in a social structure like the family, the school, a civilized environment, without serious conflicts. Some educators felt that this "functioning" comes only through imposition of cultural or societal structures and the stifling of human freedom. However, the absence of such "impositions" clearly delays the maturing of an individual's character. There is more than enough evidence that the "laissez-faire" approach to education results in more problematic behavior among young children and adolescents than the structured approach. We observe, for example, that youngsters never overcome their egocentricity when they were socialized too early in childhood or were never challenged to display social behavior. The two opposite extremes result in the same problem. For the one who was pulled out too early from the egocentric

phase, the set-back will come at a later stage, for the other, never challenged to move on, ego-centricity will remain the dominant in his(her) behavior. It seems that the apathy of so many of our youngsters and adults stems from the over-socialization of their childhood and from the permissiveness that allowed them to do "what they wanted". It is a matter of fact that decisions made without the necessary insights lead more often to failure and eventually to frustration. Young children who must make their own decisions because their parents do not want to "impose" on them, are thus much more frustrated and end up in apathy than those who were reglemented by "authoritarian" parents. It is a subtle line which we cannot always clearly discern as educators, but the balance between freedom -- letting a child alone -- and discipline -- demanding and imposing -- is exactly the art of pedagogy.

a. The Problematic of Socialization in Early Childhood

In 1972, the so-called California Report[2] revealed the facts and their background why so many of our school children develop negative attitudes toward school and society. While some may still have doubts about the validity of these findings, there is no doubt about the wide-spread apathy and a-social behavior of children and youth. We have been witnessing a shift in youth socialization and learning, during the last century: from activities that integrate children and adults and an emphasis on effect-oriented activities towards an isolation of the young from the adults' life and an emphasis on cognitive learning. (Cf. Ariès, Centuries of Childhood[3])

The development of industry and its impact on the family diminished the opportunity of a child to learn to become an adult. In America, it was also the frontier environment which weakened the family ties and those structures that had helped the articulation between childhood and responsible adulthood (Cf. E.Wynne, "Education and Socialization: A Complex Equation"[4]). Society needed new tools for this articulation -- the school and day-care centers. In a decisive stage of their development, many children are deprived of the vital experience with others of different age and on various levels of existence. In the early stage, the world and the self are not distinguished. For the child both are "one" -- Piaget speaks here of "l'indifférenciation des perspectives". Only through stimulation, i.e. by experiencing the "outer world" in its various manifestations does the child become aware of the surrounding world.

In the past -- and still in some of the less urbanized societies -- the family was integrated in the neighborhood. The "privacy" of family life is a relatively new trend in the urbanized world. For the children, it means that with the "integrated" family, everybody minded everyone's children and that you could be used by anyone to help, you would know many different people and their life-styles. Today, the "private" family minds its own children or sends them away to care-takers. Privacy severs the ties of neighborhood and community and seeks advice and help only from "experts". So, the children are also taken care of by "experts" who are supposed to do a better job than parents. (We will have to discuss this later on, in another context!) But this means that now children are confined to a relatively narrow range of experience, like a life in captivity. From early childhood, many children

spend most of their wake hours in regulated and specialized environments, segregated from older and younger individuals and engaged in almost exclusively outer-directed activities: from the day-care centers for toddlers to the undergraduate years in college, our youth is confined to a specific environment, reglemented in virtually all activities and exposed to a narrow range of life-experiences. At the same time, these experiences are limited almost exclusively to the cognitive domain. Not to misunderstand the point, even a so-called anti-authoritarian kindergarten is a predominantly reglemented environment where a more or less responsible teacher provides the frame for behavior and planned experiences for a group of segregated children. The occasional field trips of a Head Start group to the zoo will not offset or significantly change the narrowness of this world. A child in the rural area or in a neighborhood which still functions, has access to a variety of people and their work. These children know what people do, how they interact, and how they solve their problems. They come into touch with animals - pets and others and learn how to deal with them, or avoid them. In such a setting, a child can also withdraw and engage in solitary but self-initiated activities: playing alone or simply absorb experiences.

It is particularly the ability to decide, to initiate activities that provides the basis for learning. Learning theorists have long recognized that interest and will are the essential prerequisites for learning. In other words, without the child's initiative in turning attention to something and acting, the learning process is not even starting. Bandura and Walters[5] show how children learn by watching and how this

need not (I would add also, cannot) be induced or commanded. Their attention is caught by almost anything and often they deeply absorb what, for us adults, seems to be totally insignificant. Our efforts are, in contrary to this, to provide for educational experiences and most of the time command attention to this and that, prescribe the proper activities etc. While we certainly have to gear our curriculum and methodology to the respective developmental level of the learner, we should consider the need for experiences that transcend this level and challenge the child to grow. This must happen in a careful and responsible way but it cannot be done without the involvement of the older generation.

Bronfenbrenner[6] insists that the intellectual and social development of children does not happen through "selective breeding" but must be learned from other individuals "... who exhibit these qualities, value them, and strive to develop them in their own children". The goal we want to achieve with our children is that they learn, adopt, master and enjoy attitudes and skills which are necessary for living in an adult world. If children have only contacts with their own age mates and experience only a pseudo-reality how shall they ever learn culturally established patterns of behavior, of cooperation and mutual trust?

The age segregation we have in our educational institutions is largely resulting in a delay of the socialization process and often in a-social behavior. Children who were brought up in orphanages from early age are often loners and prefer to relate, if they ever do, to much older or much younger individuals. Coleman, for example, states in his famous Report on Equality of Educational Opportunity (1966) that

changes in the curriculum or the general quality of the school have a lesser effect compared to changes in the social class or racial composition of classrooms[7]. Analogous to this, the exposure to people of various age, race, intellectual levels, etc. has more of an impact on the intellectual and social development than curricular or methodological efforts. This has been recognized by Don Giovanni Bosco, in the last century. He insisted that learning takes place in the moments of "insignificant togetherness", much more than in formal and planned situations. Traditional education offered much more of opportunities for such "unplanned" encounters and the exposure to various people. School did not run from morning to the late afternoon but was mostly during the morning hours. (In Europe and South America, this is still the rule: no school in the afternoon; ... with some exceptions once or twice a week). When the American school needs so many hours daily to do the job it only confirms that there is a functional interdependence between concept formation and moral-social development. This means, that the concepts of our children that come from academic work are just as narrow and unstable as their relations with other human beings: confined to a narrow basis and range of experience and merely cognitive. Concepts and attitudes require the reinforcement of practice under varying circumstances and in self-intitiated activities. Behavior patterns are never developed by themselves nor are they maintained without the presence of models or the intervention of adults. (Cf. Lee Charlotte Lee, "The Development of Moral Judgment and Cognition from Childhood Through Adolescence: A Test of Piaget's Theory"[8])

It is necessary to clarify here the concept of behavior patterns and of modelling. The currently prevailing behavioristic view does not quite distinguish between acquisition and performance. Learning is nothing but conditioning, according to these theorists. Aside from the inaccuracy of the S → R formula (when a stimulus triggers off a certain "Response" it is not a response but a reaction! Responding means to act after deliberation, not automatically after stimulation), neither animals nor human beings are confined to reactions when they are stimulated. Both can override a spontaneous or reflex reaction by thinking through alternatives and thus delaying action. The condition for acquiring a response is not always and necessarily sufficient for its performance. In concrete terms, when a child watches someone or something, we cannot with absolute certainty expect a "re-play" or any reaction. If the child does nothing, we have no way to ascertain that the child has learned nothing. On the other side, the immediate feedback is not a safe indicator of learning either. It may simply be imitation. Applying this to socialization of young children, we must warn that the mere imitation of social behavior or the mdofication of behavior cannot be the goal of our efforts. We would better call this "taming". How long such taming lasts can be seen with animals and with the history of some nations that easily fell back into the stage of savagery once the dompteur was absent.

We want to lead our children beyond imitation. Bandura, Ross and Ross showed through their experiments[9] that modelling goes indeed beyond imitation in implying the adoption of behaviors that are not

identical but symbolic equivalents of the observed behavior. What we want to achieve with our children is the non-imitative behavior. That means that they decide to act socially and responsibly. Some "conditioning" or even "brainwashing" may be unavoidable in this process, particularly in the early years of childhood. The balance will be restored when the individual reaches intellectual maturity and finds meaning and reason behind these "patterns". It is imperative that whatever we teach our children by example or by instruction should stand the test of a later scrutiny and of alternatives. Such scrutiny will not happen when a child has not learned to translate observation into symbols and then into initiatives. Mere imitation -- and conditioning is of the same qulaity -- does not provide rationales and excludes the voluntary and intellectual potential of a person.

Modelling takes also longer than conditioning. We should hear more often Piaget's warning that nature cannot be accelerated. Growth takes time. The presence and availability of parents and other models cannot be offset by intensity. In other words, the formula that you can balance the deficit of quantity (time spent with your children) by quality (intensity of your presence) does not work in education! Both have to apply, the day-to-day presence and the intimate relationship of educator and child, if the modelling process is to develop. We have fallen victim to the temptation too often to intensify our "contacts" with the child when we did not have enough time. This results mostly in the opposite of what we expect. It works this way with our schools, too: the more we intensify the curriculum and lengthen the school day, the more we turn off the children's minds.

Summarizing this part, we see that our efforts to help children in the socialization process must consider many facts and move in different directions at the same time: The child's egocentricity must be seen as a normal phase which will be overcome gradually not suddenly by exposure to other individuals on various age and intellectual levels. This exposure cannot be planned because the child's way of encountering reality is directed from within: from his(her) own initiative and attention. The situative approach to early childhood education as we have it in the traditional (European) kindergarten considers these facts. The curriculum approach, on the other side, narrows down the range of a child's experience, however wide such a curriculum might be, because it can be done only in a planned and reglemented environment and with homogeneous -- age-segregated -- groups of the same or similar developmental level. A realistic early childhood education must consider the child's need to encounter in an informal and unsystematic setting a variety of people, things, phenomena to which he(she) can relate in affective and cognitive terms, which can be observed sufficiently long enough, and again and again, to enable the child to translate the observed behavior into symbolic equivalents which then lead to non-imitative behavior. In the family and the traditional early childhood education programs, the stability and duration of an educator-child relationship was emphasized. The constantly changing baby-sitter or teacher substitute prevented lasting relationships and deprived a child of the model needed for developing behavior patterns that transcend imitation and conditioning. The presence of individuals of various age levels in family and

have a favorable impact on the socialization process, while age-segregation and the prevailing exposure to immature persons delay the development of positive attitudes towards others. The success of some traditional early childhood programs such as Froebel's Kindergarten and Montessori's Casa Dei Bambini stems definitely from the fact that children of different developmental levels were together and the exposure to older and even handicapped individuals was a major concern of the educators.

Footnotes

[1] quoted in Cremin, Lawrence, American Education: The Colonial Experience, (New York: Harper & Row, 1970) p. 177.

[2] Phi Delta Kappan, June 1972

[3] Ariès, Philippe, Centuries of Childhood, (New York: Random House/Vintage Books, 1962)

[4] Wynne, Edward, "Education and Socialization: A Complex Equation.", ER, Dec. 1972. p.6.

[5] Bandura, A. & Walters, R., Social Learning and Personality Development, (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1963.)

[6] Bronfenbrenner, Urie, Two Worlds of Childhood, (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1970) p.117.

[7] Coleman, J.S. et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity, (Washington DC: US Gov't. Printing Office, 1966)

[8] Lee, Charlotte, "The Development of Moral Judgment and Cognition from Childhood Through Adolescence: A Test of Piaget's Theory" (Dissertation 1968, Ohio State University)

[9] quoted in Bronfenbrenner, op.cit., p. 129 f.

b. The Development of Consciousness

With the pre-occupation of psychologists measuring intelligence, our conception of consciousness narrowed down to a perspective which is in sharp contrast to the classic view. We realize now, that the cognitive domain is only one part of the range of human consciousness. Science confirms the two-dimensionality of the brain and its functions that provide a basis for intentionality and reflexion -- concepts of the classic, philosophical view.

On one side we have the ideology of behaviorism -- I call it an "ideology"because it is scientifically untenable, at least in terms of its deterministic assumptions -- with the attempts to by-pass consciousness by conditioning an "organism" that has dominated the scene during the last decades, on the other side, however, science returned to the philosophical approach -- for example with Quantum Mechanics, many philosophical concepts were re-introduced to the scientific method -- and the concern has widened to the view of the whole person, the whole child. Piaget's starting point is epistemological. His definition of the intellectual development of a child is not confined to formulae. Educators became aware that the task is not so much problem-solving, how ever important this is for man to survive, but to lead the young generation to a "critical consciousness" (Paulo Freire) and help them in the "search for meaning" (Viktor Frankl). This goes far beyond the I.Q. and conditioned reflexes!

One cannot separate the intentionality of consciousness (aiming at objects and making an individual aware of the surrounding world) from reflexion (Selbstbewusstsein, the awareness of the self)

Probably the most fascinating experience of an educator is to see how a child "awakens" -- how his (her) mind registers objects and how the self interacts then reflects... and eventually communicates. But objects are not only "registered", the child's mind seeks objects, reaches out with a dynamic which the Greek philosophers called ὀργή (cf. orgasm) -- ὀργὴ πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα = " a longing desire for knowledge" .

Our attempts to explain this with an "innate curiosity" or "sensory receptivity" often ignore that the child -- and of course, the mature person also -- does not just "see" things but assimilates the object and then communicates. Once a child found something or achieved a skill, an inner urge makes him share it:"See what I have!" The pleasure of sharing is part of this dynamic underlying human consciousness. Seneca speaks of it in his Epistulae Morales: "nullius boni sine socio iucunda possessio est"[1]. The same applies to the teacher who shares knowledge and experiences with enthusiasm, who feels an inner urge to communicate and reaches the hearts of his pupils. "What does not come from a heart will never reach a heart" expresses this quality of true teaching.

When we look at the development of the child's consciousness, we will immediately see the social quality as an essential constituent.

Brian P. Hall distinguishes four phases in the development of human consciousness[2]. Two of them are relevant for us, as they fall into childhood:

Phase I is characterized by the needs of the child. In the first 4 years, gratification of the senses and of physiological needs is provided through the mother who feeds, cleans, protects, touches and rocks the child. With physiological growth, the child encounters many developmental tasks which still remain mostly in the physical realm but go hand-in-hand with the intellectual

and personal growth. The child's dynamic "curiosity" makes him explore the environment and develop manipulative skills. Contacts with others involve only concrete and immediate goals which are achieved through manipulative, even exploitative means. The world exists only for the child and anything entering the reach is claimed for possession. That is the egocentrism we discussed above. But already in the first two years, the breakthrough happens: the child wants to be with others though not yet able to cooperate; the conflicts that arise from being with others lead to a widened awareness that the world does not exist for him alone. By age 5 or 6, the second phase is entered where problems replace needs in the child's consciousness. The needs are still there but the psychological ones are in the foreground: now, to be loved and to express love are more important motives. If this is not recognized and met by the family, it is sought elsewhere: with pets or dolls, peers, a teacher, or, when nothing of this is available, with himself. The child turns back on himself -- in the extreme case, into autism -- and with this turn, all initiative and interest disappears. We seem to ignore this fundamental pattern though it has been recognized already centuries ago. While the traditional educators have applied unconsciously what modern scientists discovered and formulated, many modern parents and teachers neither consciously nor unconsciously help children to widen their experience beyond the first phase. By "rewarding" a child with candy or other goodies, the need for gratification is kept on the physiological level. By leaving the child in his self-centered world and never demanding to "fit" into pre-established structures, the undifferentiated perspective becomes fixed and blocks the development of communication skills. The child knows only to demand but never to share.

Illustration 1)

Illustration 1:

The child wants to be with others but is unable to cooperate. Conflicts arise when the other claims the same object.

This fixed stage is observed among many adults who remained in a childish egocentrism (Cf. David Riesman, "Egocentrism"[3]).
The major task of an educator is here to allow a child to engage in activities that become meaningful not only through sense- satisfaction("It feels good...") but through the experience of approval. This approval need not exclusively be external (approval by others) though that is essential, but also internal. Many activities are self-gratifying and need no outside reinforcement but the presence and involvement of others is equally important. Even in the case of handicaps or the failure to meet expectations, the presence and love of the mother or educator prevents de-motivation. Here too, many of our older children and adults seem never to have experienced sufficiently the approval of their mere existence:"I like you, because you are you..." but always heard praises of their achievements and when they met expectations.

It was Pestalozzi who recognized the scandalous destruction of the child's ability to relate to his world which happens when educators neglect the fundamental need of a child, to belong and to have a Heimat (cf. Pestalozzi, How Gertrud Educates Her Children[4]). Only in such an environment which is characterized by positive emotional ties (everybody likes his home if it is truly a "home") will learning happen: the "awakening of the powers of the mind". By pulling children out from this world of play and of fulfilled activities and emotional relations too early, the range of consciousness is reduced to "these miserable letters, the first torture of childhood", to abstract and cold operations.

Pestalozzi's principle of Anschauung has influenced European education to this day. It corresponds to

the child's way of encounter of the world -- "the challenge of external objects to the senses and to the powers of consciousness which are moved by their impression". In other words, the ability to encounter things on the objective level excites the emotional realm. When objects are replaced by words (abstract symbols etc), the emotional remains inactive. Thus, knowledge is incomplete when it is not triggering off or accompanied by positive feelings.

The "crime" of the educators consists in the neglect of providing opportunities for such experiences. The child should be surrounded by pleasant and lovely things that correspond to his ability to encounter with pleasure and love. What has happened to so many of our children who, already at an early age, enjoy to watch the ugly and brutal and find pleasure in violence and destruction? This per-version of consciousness that makes a person respond positively (with enjoyment) to the negative (ugliness, violence, etc) begins at childhood and ends in the apathy or even in the sadism of so many of our young and adult contemporaries. An extreme example of such a perverted consciousness would be the mentality of them men of Auschwitz or My Lai: people of normal intelligence but without feelings for others.

It is this "inner approval", the matching of the child's ability and need to love with a lov-able outside world, which is the dynamic behind an ever expanding consciousness. This expansion is not only quantitative -- widening to endless interests -- but also qualitative -- deepening to fulfillment (Verinnerlichung). It leads also to authentic expression, i.e. communication. When we have nowadays so many children failing to communicate it is largely due to the over-exposure to TV, a fast sequence of pictures that do not allow a child (nor an adult) to absorb, to reflect, nor to communicate.

We do not speak here of the contents or the often questionable quality of TV programs but of the speed and sequence of pictures that change the mood constantly while they do not allow for any reaction or response.
With concrete experiences, children usually withdraw from the position of the spectator and move into the role of actor. Be it that the child re-plays or acts out what he observed or that he shares it with others. (See Illustration 2).

Illustration 2)

The traditional Kindergarten with its "field-trips" and subsequent activities has been developing the children's consciousness much more than the contemporary experiments which let children "act out" their moods and whims. Expressions are meaningful only when they follow impressions. Consciousness deepens to the human quality when it leads to communication. In early childhood education programs such communication is the pivotal principle around which all experiences are organized. The cultural structures of communication as they are given through the language, traditions, conventions etc. of a given society, provide the framework and goals for these experiences. That means concretely, that the forms of politeness, of proper language, of culturally acceptable behavior are necessary structural components. The uninhibited expression of feelings and tactless communication are not conducive to a widened awareness but result in the opposite. In contradiction to the Freudian dogma that repression leads to deviant behavior and psychological blocks, we see that the uncultivated behavior and the lack of communication skills result much more in psychological problems because of the high incidents of conflicts and negative experiences. Being turned off by people who feel uncomfortable in my presence hurts more than the imposition of rules.

Illustration 2:

Children observe and then "act out" by re-playing what they saw and/or communicating verbally and through activities.

Concluding this second part, we might see the need for a "careful presence" of the educator who wants to help a child develop his (her) social consciousness. The negative approach of a Rouaseau who insisted that we let Nature have her way and do not interfere at all with the child's ways is unrealistic. Pestalozzi saw the need for "natural education" too but conceived nature much broader. The natural way of a child to approach the world is anschauen, the involvement of the senses and the heart and activities ("The head, the hand and the heart") in encountering objects and people. Experience shows that children do indeed have this capacity and often teach the adult (cf. Montessori[5]) how to look at things. The completely outer-directed approach that relies on a curriculum does not widen the child's consciousness but "computerizes" behavior. Behaviorists are satisfied with performance and do not ask about a child's feelings and their ability to express and communicate on various levels. The one-dimensionality of behavioral objectives in early childhood stifle the natural dynamic of children that makes them reach out to the surrounding world and internalize their impressions by re-playing in own terms (with toys, role-playing, verbal or non-verbal communication), and by involving others (sharing the joys and disappointments) in their experiences. The depths of consciousness escape evaluation because not all impressions are immediately expressed. By demanding responses or rewarding each reaction children are kept in the first phase of consciousness development: an ego-centric need for sense-gratification solidifies and prevents further growth on the second level where the need to belong and to love are in the foreground.

The task of the educator is to provide the space and the time (environment and the freedom from undue schedules) and the materials which lend themselves to positive encounters: toys, natural things like animals and plants, water and sand, and lovable people.

In the third part, we will examine some models of traditional and contemporary early childhood education programs which have more or less consciously applied these principles in their attempts to help children to grow into "full-fledged citizens".

Footnotes

[1] Seneca, Epistulae Morales (64 A.D.), 6:4.

[2] Brian P. Hall, The Development of Consciousness, (New York: Paulist Press, 1976)

[3] David Riesman, "Egocentrism", in Character, Vol.1, Nr. 5,(March 1980).

[4] Pestalozzi, How Gertrud Educates Her Children (c.1790) cf. Gutek, Gerald, Pestalozzi and Education, (New York: Random House,1968).

[5] Maria Montessori, The Secret of Childhood, (New York: Ballantine Books, 1966).

II. Successful Models of Early Childhood Education

The rejection of the past as irrelevant for contemporary attempts to solve problems has often led to dead ends or the re-invention of the wheel. Human existence is characterized by a lack of inherited instincts. This means that we are not born, like animals, with the necessary equipment for survical but must learn from others how to come to grips with the world. The traditio -- handing over of past experiences from one generation to the other is the basis for progress. Science and the arts, philosophy and religion developed after many years of various experiences of mankind. So did education during the last three thousand years of which we have written records of man's attempts to lead a new generation into the world.

We cannot return to Nature, as Rousseau wanted us to do, nor return to the origins of our culture, but we can still learn from those who thought and worked in the field of education -- from their failures and from their successes.

In many of our contemporary psychologists' discoveries, insights that were achieved two thousand years ago, are re-covered. It seems that the principles of education described by some of the classic thinkers have not been shaken through the centuries but rather were confirmed by our experiences. Their relevance will be seen in all of the following examples where we examine the approach to early childhood education with specific view on the socialization process.

a. Plato (427 - 347 B.C.)

Though we do not know of any systematic early childhood education in Antiquity, as the family took care of the early years, we do have evidence of concern about this decisive phase in human life.

We read Plato's demand that children should be taken away from their parents and better brought up by "guardians" who are more reliable to do a good job (Cf. The Republic[1]). There are still voices like Plato's who feel today that parents often destroy through their ignorance of educational principles and that their children would be in better hands if they could be taken away and brought up by experts (Cf. Bettelheim[2]).

We should see the concern for children getting a good start in life behind these demands, how much they threaten our parental rights. The focus is more on the children's rights to grow up in a proper environment and the duties of educators to provide it.

According to Plato, children can only grow in a "normal" environment. For him and his contemporaries, normal meant beautiful and good. Καλός και ἀγαθός - "kalokagathia" is the fundamental principle underlying the world and thus the method and objective of education. Leading someone into the world is to develop in him a wide and deep sensitivity ("aesthesis") for spiritual values. So, the young mind must be surrounded by such qualities as beauty, goodness, harmony and peace. The guardians should keep away anything short of these standards but not the negative concern should prevail. The two concepts of ἡδονή (hedonè = pleasure in an ego-centric connotation) and φιλία (philia = love with the connotation of shared, communicated joy) are fundamental properties of the "soul" -- we would say, of the person, even of the child -- that appears

immediately, i.e. without any external prodding, in free and playful activities of both mind and body. Joy is thus the medium of education.(Cf. an excellent discussion of this topic in Sandvoss, Soteria[3].)

The psychological insight that pleasure and the cultivation of positive emotional relationships are decisive for the life-style and success of the person is found already in Plato's Laws. Here, we find also the warning that moral-societal and political rulings must ensure the physical-psychic-spiritual health of the people. In our context, the concern for socialization for a harmonious and happy life is tied in with the philosophical a-priori that there is only the alternative between goodness and beauty as a norm or the rejection of reality for the sake of egoistic pleasures (lust). The value of the arts as a propaedeutic (leading to) and the sensitivity of the individual for beauty and harmony as a goal make up the tension in classic education. The role of the mature person is thus not primarily a "function" in society, how ever much that is necessary, but the interest, joy and fulfillment that is behind activities.

Most of us will probably agree that children should grow up happily and experience the beauty and goodness of the world, but when it comes to the point to keep away everything ugly and brutal, we begin to argue: "But this is not reality! Somehow the children have to come to grips with the ugly and the brutal in our society..." So, the exposure to all the violence and ugliness in TV and literature is believed to convey a "realistic" picture of society for our children. Seeing such figures that tell of the average American child watching several hundred crimes on TV before he (she) goes to school, and watching children play with guns and enjoy destroying property, we cannot be convinced

that these are "realistic" attitudes which we develop in our children. The law that states the conditioning effect of the first experience has been recognized by Plato: the children's impressive minds should first encounter the good then the negative, which will inevitably appear in their lives, will have to take the second place. The more of the positive experiences we can provide during childhood, the less harm will the negative do, and the more will our children and youth react "properly" to negative experiences. It is not proper to react to suffering and destruction with enjoyment. Already the "fun" children have with Mickey Mouse chasing through the kitchen and toppling the china and glassware, is an improper reaction. Mother would not enjoy seeing all her china go this way! It may still be harmless, but it is the first step to enjoy vandalism and suffering.
Plato's warnings are highly relevant for a time where the Holocaust happened and where similar atrocities occur in our society, with even children being involved as doers.

The classic ideal of kalokagathia -- the good and the beautiful -- is still applied in many families and schools. The Kindergarten with its emphasis on "joyful" learning in a pleasant environment has cultivated the sensitivity for beauty and harmony. The principle has influenced many educators to this time to lead children to positive relations with their world.

Footnotes

[1] Plato, The Republic (London: Oxford University Press, 1941) Book II and III: 346-403.

[2] Bruno Bettelheim, Love is not Enough and Children of the Drear (New York: Avon Books, 1950)

[3] Ernst Sandvoss, Soteria: Philosophische Grundlagen der platonischen Gesetzgebung, (Göttingen: Musterschmidt, 1971), p. 224 f.

b. Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827)

With his principle of Anschauung, Pestalozzi picked up the classic ideal of Kalokagathia and provided the first psychological arguments for child-rearing in a pleasant and natural setting. This educator's concern was to "help up my dear people" (dem lieben Volke aufhelfen) and to"stem the tide of evil coming from so many sources". The major source of societal evils were seen in peoples' "unworthy" activities: exploitation, crimes, etc. So, the first steps must be to establish the basis for a human existence which Pestalozzi saw in the home:

> "The relationships in the home are the first and foremost ones in man's life. He works and struggles and bears the burdens imposed by society in order to enjoy the blessings of peace and harmony at home. So all education and formation for vocation or for social rank must be subordinated to the goal of domestic happiness..." [1]

The principle of Heimat which logically follows from the insight that man's first and fundamental need is to have a home, extends into the full range of human consciousness: man is to be "at home" in the world until he finds his final destiny in an eternal home-land. The emotional ties which a child has with the original home-world (it is not a merely geographical concept but encompasses the physical and spiritual realm, the landscape and the climate, the language, dialects, traditions and faiths of the are where a child grows up) extend in concentric circles to the whole world. How ever wide they span, and how far away one might move from his Heimat, it will remain the "firm pint of reference" for all subsequent experiences. Social psychology has confirmed this view, tracing many of our problems such as juvenile delinquency, alienation and apathy to the lack of a home and the uprooting of children from the family.

For Pestalozzi, the method of education is determined by the child's ability to respond emotionally to the surrounding world -- by Anschauung -- "seeing with the heart" (Cf. Exupéry's Little Prince: "On ne voit bien qu'avec le coeur!"). While the natural environment for the child -- the family, nature, etc. -- provides for the proper experiences (where poverty forces families to live in sub-standard conditions, it would be the major responsibility for the authorities to ensure the minimum of human standards!) , the schools usually pull the child out into a sterile and cold world. The merely cognitive demands of the teachers destroy the child's ability to anschauen and narrow him down to a mere robot.

Pestalozzi's ideas were influential upon European and American education, in the last century. While the Old World, with new impulses from Froebel (a contemporary of Pestalozzi) with his Kindergarten, Herbart and other educators, fruitfully applied his ideas, America lost sight of them with the wave of behavioristic dogmatists like Dewey and Skinner.[2] Contemporary psychology and learning theory re-discover now the "affective domain" and the need for a balance to the merely cognitive-oriented approach to education. Many of the modern day-care centers, some of the Head-Start Programs implement more or less consciously Pestalozzi's ideas and see successful results.

In Germany, the Freiburger Modellkindergarten[3] applies these principles to contemporary conditions. Its major emphasis spans therapeutic, religious, rhythmic-artistic, social and communicative objectives in the attempt to meet the child's cognitive and emotional needs.

The central didactic principle of the Freiburger Modell is based on the question how to foster the child's intelligence. The answer is not the same as with youth or adults because intelligence must be redefined for each developmental level (cf. Piaget, The Grasp of Consciousness[4]). A child's cognitive potential is tied in with the affective domain. The "emotional ties" which a child has immediately with his (her) environment include cognitive acts and vice versa. Thus Kindergarten education is not to be primarily concerned with information and learning of skills, but with situative learning and the development of social attitudes through interaction and communication. Pestalozzi's warning that learning without love is not learning is considered in the mandate that "joy" is the major tenor of all activities in the Kindergarten. This does not mean "fun" at all cost, but the emphasis on lasting harmonious and positive relationships with the surrounding world. The care with which the place is kept clean and orderly, and the insistence on civilized behavior is not only in the hands of the teachers but is a shared responsibility for all.

A planned and highly structured curriculum does not fit into this didactic framework. It is also incompatible with the child's main interests and needs as reflected in play and phantasy. Experiences with academic curricula in early childhood education programs have often led to unmotivated, even hostile children. The demands and an unduly structured schedule triggered off defense mechanisms in the children who sought satisfaction of their emotional needs outside the "program" -- often in aggressive behavior or vandalism, mostly, however in apathy and withdrawal.

The British Nursery Schools for children under 5 years of age have sucessfully worked with Pestalozzian and Froebelian methods. In fact, the Froebel Foundation has influenced most of the schools and the education of teachers. The so-called Plowden Report[5] picked up a serious concern of Pestalozzi, to educate the parents along with the children. It recommends that nursery schools establish also programs for parents which deal with the various problems of early childhood education such as nutrition, health, discipline etc. The temptation to introduce academic "work" into early childhood programs to allow for a better transition to the elementary schools still linger in Europe. The British "Infant School" seems to succumb to this temptation, but there are worse examples in America and in Europe. As long as there is some balance to the cognitive- academic activities, the damage to the child's development may be minimal but alone the fact that children are kept in the school for a full day deprives them of the fundamental experiences in a natural setting. The conditions which force mothers to work or make it otherwise necessary that the child is given to a full-time institution are exactly what Pestalozzi accused as the responsibility of the authorities of society. The efforts of some communities to help the families of children in their kindergarten to achieve an adequate standard of living are the secret of their success. Particularly some religious communities (in Germany, most Kindergartens are run by the Catholic or Lutheran Churches) care for the families in need of help beyond the "day-care" for their children. Here, Pestalozzi's major concern is visible and which has been the foundation of his success wherever it was applied:

"Man has two fundamental needs: to find care while he works with his own talents and by own decision -- and to be loved by others who will care for him when his powers are weakened and the situations of life become emergencies..." [6]

Where this has been recognized by educators, the success with children in their hands extended beyond the school's activities into the lives of the students and their families.

Footnotes

[1] Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, Abendstunde eines Einsiedlers (1780). For an excerpt and translation see Robert Ulich, Three Thousand Years of Educational Wisdom,(Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971)

[2] Cf. The Leipzig Connection,(Sheridan,Oregon: Delphian Press,197

[3] Hans Herbert Deissler et al., Der Freiburger Modellkindergarten (München: Kösel Verlag,1978).

[4] Jean Piaget, The Grasp of Consciousness,(Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press,1976)

[5] The Plowden Report:"Children and their Primary Schools", Central Advisory Council for Education; Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1967.

for a detailed discussion and critique, see Robert J. Fisher, Learning How to Learn,(New York: Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich, 1972).

[6] Wilhelm Flitner, ed., Pestalozzi: Ausgewählte Schriften, (Düsseldorf:Verlag Helmut Kupper, 1954),p. 245.

c. Waldorf Education

Rudolf Steiner's (1861-1925) Waldorf Schools started 1919 in Stuttgart, Germany, with a school for children of workers of the Waldorf-Astoria Cigarette factory. From there, they spread throughout Europe and the USA, attracting many parents who wanted their children to be educated in a more child-like setting, vis-à-vis the common "academic" schools. While critics point to the inadequacies of Steiner's Allgemeine Menschenkunde als Grundlage der Pädagogik (a general anthropology as a basis for education, published by Steiner in 1932) with its anthroposophic ideas, they cannot deny the fact that his schools have been successful.

The Waldorf School spans from Kindergarten through secondary school. Our interest is here in its approach to pre-school education, with its emphasis on the artistic-creative potential of the child. Steiner believed that all children have this potential. So the whole curriculum is worked around arts and crafts, rhythmic movement and musi trhough all the years of schooling. Not the age but the developmental level decides in which "grade" a child belongs. The teachers, usually well trained in the didactic and philosophy of Steiner's pedagogy, who borrowed heavily from Pestalozzi and Froebel's ideas, remain with the same group of children from Kindergarten to the end of elementary schools. The personal relations which develop at the first year und that last way beyond schooling are the secret of Waldorf's success. Here, the teacher comes to know a child in his (her) growth and can apply consistently the didactic concepts, building on previous experiences from year to year. During Kindergarten, the emphasis is on expressive skills: acting out in rhythmic movements, painting, drawing, modelling. The cultivation of the child's capacity

for impression and expression provide a solid foundation for the academic work which phases in gradually during the first year and increases slowly. The Waldorf students usually do not read and write before the second or even third grade, but they are well-adjusted, free and joyful children. Great care is given to a pleasant and child-like environment. The Chicago Waldorf School, for example has child-sized furniture made of raw wood, made by a parent. Children play and work with natural materials like bees wax (instead of plastiline clay), wool and unfinished wood. There are no discipline problems because children are simply expected to behave in a civilized way. Conflicts are widely prevented by well-thought activities and the constant presence of the same teacher.

The philosophical underpinnings of Waldorf education, as they come from Steiner's "anthroposophy" are less typical for these schools' success than the consistent application of the principles which we know from Pestalozzi and Froebel.[1]

Footnotes

[1] C. Heydebrand, Vom Stundenplan der Waldorfschule, (Dornach: Anthroposophischer Verlag?, 1951.

Cf. also Barnes & Nathan Lyons, Education as an Art: The Rudolf Steiner Method, (Englewood,NJ: St.George Books, 1967).

and Harwood, The Recovery of Man in Childhood, (London: Hodder & Staughton,1958.)

d. Montessori Education: Maria Montessori (1870-1952)

Maria Montessori contributed to early childhood education the first truly scientific rationale. Starting off as a medical doctor, she saw education in its double function: biologically and socially.

> "Biologically, we want to achieve the natural development of the child... providing the basis for the intellectual capacities: healthy senses and nerves... and socially, we want to prepare the child for a harmonious co-existence in society."[1]

Though a scientist, Montessori rejected the application of experimental psychology with its instruments of measurement and laboratory work with children. The child should have the freedom to unfold the whole repertoire of expressive skills, in its spontaneity and unique quality. The task of the educator is thus only to be available when necessary, to aid but never to "direct" the development of the child's personality. Montessori's philosophy of education is closer to religion, with its image of man and his(her)"spiritual forces", than to science of her times. But the didactic principles derived from this view are scientifically well supported today: concentration, self-activity, sense-training.

What is of our major interest here, is the concept of "concentration" in Montessori's early childhood education and its relevance for the socialization process.

Montessori saw education as a process of "internalization" (" a way to the inside" -- "Verinnerlichung"), i.e. a growing awareness and deepening attention that transcend the rational capacities of man. Objects (e.g. playthings, learning materials, etc.) are not the most important elements for learning but the "inner movement" of the soul that is triggered off by an object which the child encounters and can play with.

What the child needs is therefore first the space and the time which allows the mind to "absorb" the experience.

> "... children are given materials with which to work. They are attracted by these objects which perfected their sense perceptions, enabling them to analyse and facilitate their movements. These materials also taught them how to concentrate in a way that no vocal instruction ever could have done."[2]

What are these "materials"? It is interesting to watch children in a Montessori School playing with virtually anything that occurs in everyday life: often the objects are scaled-down editions of tools, utensils and furniture. The idea is to

> "give (the child) everything needed so he can imitate the actions he sees at home, or in the country in which he lives"[3].

As we saw above (p. 18) children like to imitate, re-play and act out what they observed. This imitative action is not so superficial as we might think. It is a selective and intelligent rendering with implications for the child's later part in society. Consequently, the teacher's presence is not needed for directions ("Do this, do it that way"). The child should find his own ways of working with the objects. When they lend themselves for harmless manipulation and contain no danger of abuse or pain, the child can be left alone, with the teacher in the background. The role of the teacher may even become reversed: learning from a child how to "work" with objects in a creative and joyful manner.

The over-directed and joyless school atmosphere is absent in Montessori schools. We should recognize the connection between disorders in the physiological and social development arising from the deprivation of children's opportunities to "organize" (i.e. to

"order", internally structure) their human capacities to encounter and to respond to the surrounding world.

A good example of a plaything which Montessori did not know as it was invented later in this century but which fits exactly the criteria she demanded, is LEGO. The blocks in various sizes and shapes, and in pleasant colors, lend themselves for innumerable activities. They require, however, the concentration and the manual activities which are at the core of the"Montessori Phenomenon":

> "... almost like the magic wand for opening the gate to normal expression of a child's natural gifts is activity concentrated on some task that requires movements of the hands guided by the intellect."[4]

Illustration 3
4

It is not necessary to purchase all the equipment which "belong" to a Montessori-program. But the basic requirements for learning materials must be met: the objects must be "autodidactic", i.e. lending themselves to self-activity with a minimum of instruction given by the teacher and the potential for alternative and more complicated uses. And they must allow both individual and group work. The goal of the child's activities with these materials must be the achievement of skills and attitudes which are, later on, useful and meaningful in life.

The success of Montessori programs lies in the realistic approach to socialization via activities and joyful attitudes which avoid, without intervention of the teachers, most of the conflicts which so often arise in the transition period from egocentricity to the social awareness.

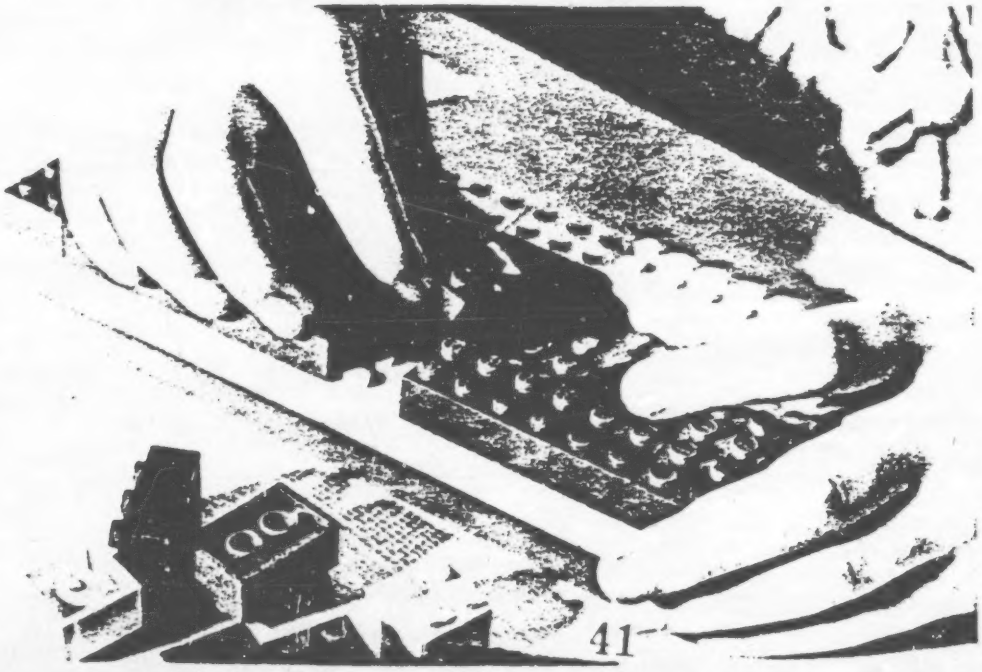
Illustration 3:

LEGO -- a learning material "that requires movements of the hands guided by the intellect"

(large size LEGO blocks fit together with the regular, smaller size that would be unsuitable for small children and handicapped)

34b

LEGO blocks require concentration and good eye-hand coordination.



At the same time, as it develops the child's cognitive and emotional capacities, through the activities with learning materials taken from the real world and requiring skills that are needed in life, the physiological development is fostered. The important skill of eye-hand coordination, of a long attention span, for example, are common with children in Montessori schools. Through work with materials that are "standardized" to a degree that they allow to be used for as many children of a respective developmental level, and that can be used to lead over to more abstract operations, a continuum is ensured that makes the transition to academic work almost unnoticeable. Montessori children usually do well in school academically and display better study skills than the "average" kindergarten graduate.

Illustration 5

Footnotes

[1] Cf. Brigitte Van Veen-Bosse, "Konzentration und Geist. Die Anthropologie der Pädagogik Maria Montessori's", in: Theresia Hagenmaier et al., Neue Aspekte der Reformpädagogik, (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1968), p. 105

[2] Maria Montessori, The Secret of Childhood, (New York: Ballantine Books, 1966), p. 137.

[3] Maria Montessori, The Absorbent Mind, (New York: Dell, 1967), p. 169.

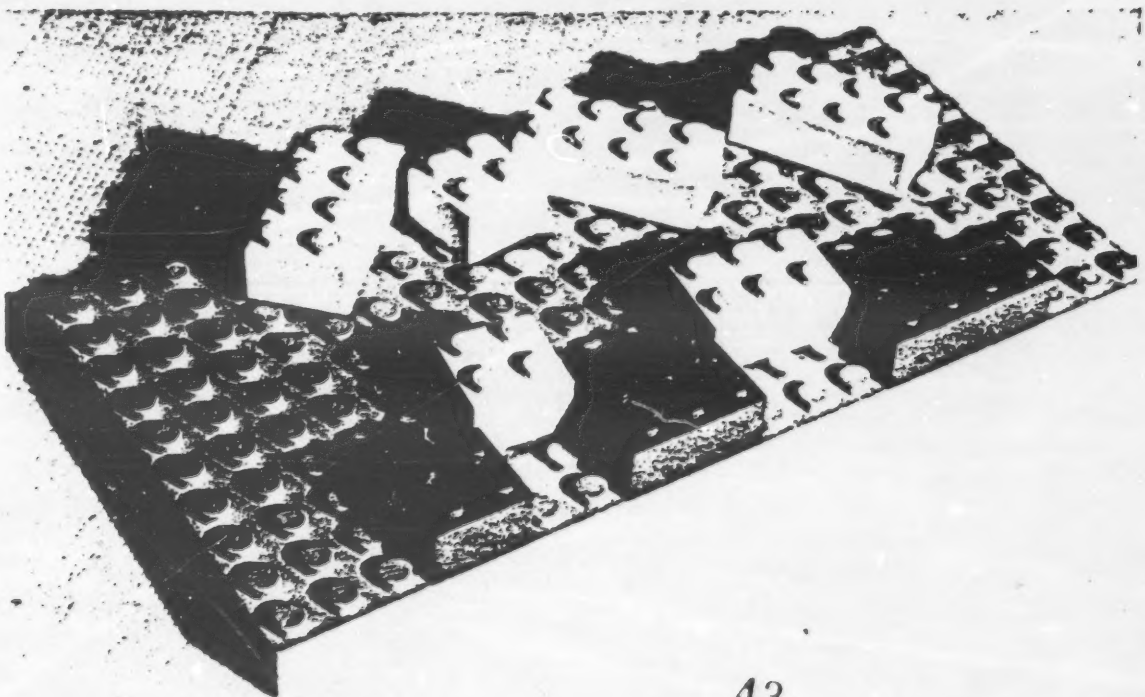
[4] Montessori, Secret of Childhood, p. 138.

35a

Illustration 5:

The "Montessori Cube" with its various geometric forms and LEGO blocks with different shapes and lengths "teach" by itself geometric and arithmetical concepts before a child is "taught academically".

Space and number concepts develop through manual activities.



e. The "S.O.S. Children's Villages": Hermann Gmeiner.

Probably the most successful model of early childhood education which has spread throughout the world within 30 years, is Hermann Gmeiner's "Children's Village". The belief that children, particularly orphans, should not be brought up in institutions but in family-like settings, was expressed already by Pestalozzi. For older boys, Don Bosco provided homes with a minimum of institutionalized structures, and with an approach that was entirely geared to the needs of the youngsters. The ideas of Don Bosco spread rapidly, from last century and to this day, thousands of boys homes exist all over the world. In USA, Father Flanagan realized, for the first time, the idea of a Boys Town (Nebraska) but a similar setting for younger children was first established with the Pestalozzi-Kinderdorf in Trogen (Switzerland). Here, homeless and orphaned children were accommodated right after the disastrous Second World War. Little houses, headed by a couple ("house parents") provided the family for about 16 children. Each house has parents and children of a different nationality, children from various war-stricken countries were brought to Trogen. In contrast, Hermann Gmeiner brings the homes to these countries: in all parts of the world are "S.O.S. Children's Villages" now and they are increasing every year.

These villages prefer children with psychological and/or physical disorders that stem from the loss of the natural family. The care for these children includes therapy and education but the primary concern is that they are brought back to the natural order of the family. Hermann Gmeiner calls this the "social womb": the child is torn out from it by the loss of his parents or their failure to provide care. But only in a family setting can a young child grow. So, the first need is to have a mother again.

The Children's Village mother is usually an unmarried woman without own children but with a genuine love for them. That is the only pre-requisite Gmeiner demands, but the candidates are well screened and trained for their task to head a family of up to nine children with ages ranging from infancy to 14. Like in the natural family, the various age levels provide for the social contacts and responsibilities essential for a child's development. Care is taken that real brothers and sisters are not separated but accommodated in the same family. (When the boys reach age 14 or 15, they will live in the Student or Apprentice House attached to the Village, while the older girls may stay with the House Mother.)

The striking success of the SOS Villages is explained by the founder, Hermann Gmeiner with the simple statement:" No child can remain indifferent to the influence of a good mother". Difficult and "uneducable" children have become good citizens through the kindness and affection that characterize the homes in these villages.

Gmeiner's four educational principles are a realistic basis for the socialization of the children in his villages: like the "concentric circles" of Pestalozzi's Heimat principle, Gmeiner's first one is "the SOS Mother" in the house. Like a real mother, she is responsible for the every-day life and its problems. The second principle are the "Brothers and Sisters", the children around the mother. Though most of them are unrelated, they become brothers and sisters by sharing the love and care of the same mother and growing up together. Even when they have grown up, these ties remain and the Village remains their "home". As mentioned above, the children are not grouped by age but are mixed as in the natural family. They are however

carefully screened before they are placed in a House so that their needs are best met. About half of the SOS Children have natural brothers and sisters with whom they grow up in the same family. The third principle is the House -- a real family house with the full function of a household. There is a kitchen, a living room, small bedrooms which allow the children to have their own space, and a bedroom for the mother. Meals are cooked in the house -- a very important point for Gmeiner who believes that the "stove" is one of the centers of family life: "As the child sees his mother working, cooking his meals on the kitchen stove, he begins to realize that the satisfaction of primary needs entails personal effort"! This is, indeed, an important aspect in socialization, that a child realizes that all needs are requiring effort before they can be satisfied. The institutionalized delivery of services makes it almost impossible for a child to see this pattern and so he is never challenged to spend efforts for others.

The fourth principle of the SOS Village idea is that the family and the house are integrated in the Village. Usually there are 15 or 20 families in a village which is headed by a director, a man, who is able to do the administrative work but also advise the mothers and other educators. Except for a kindergarten, there is no school in the village. Children go to the schools in the surrounding area. Also, the supplies are furnished by local merchants. It is seen as important that the SOS Village is not a self-contained and separated unit in the area but integrated with the normal population. The children should never feel that they are "different".

Care is taken to the point that the style of the buildings in the village and their furnishings match the prevailing style of the respective region. With this consistent application of principles, the whole work is directed toward the integration of the children into society.[2]

Among all the early childhood education programs, the SOS Villages fulfill most completely the criteria for an education that fosters the socialization process and, from the beginning, regards a child as a "full-fledged citizen" because it is possible to integrate him, as in a normally functioning family, in the structures that accompany each one of us, in a concentric pattern, from the closeness of the family to the wide world.

Footnotes

[1] Hermann Gmeiner, The SOS Childrens Villages: Modern Homes for Destitute Children, (Innsbruck: SOS-Kinderdorf-Publications, 1971) p.31.

[2] ibid., p. 34.

Conclusion

The process of socialization in children is too complex to be discussed exhaustively in such a paper. Our concern was not so much to provide a complete overview on all the aspects and problems but to see some important points and their relevance for us as early childhood educators.

The examples of some successful models were far from complete. Much more could be said about the SOS Children's Villages, about Waldorf Schools and many others that remained unmentioned. It could be a task for all of us to look around further and find out more by ourselves. The following bibliography might give us hints for that enterprise. But much more important is that we receive the encouragement to help our young children to grow up in a good environment and grow into a world which is worth living in. With so many of failure reports on education, with so many failure products of our families and schools, a tremendous task is facing us: we must not only work with our children but also with the parents, with the authorities of community and state because they all are involved, now and later, in the socialization process and in social life of our children.

Scientific scrutiny and critique may find many flaws with some of the assumptions and statements made here; we will just as well find shortcomings and mistakes in all of the cited models too. But this should not hinder our attempts to learn from their success.

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esp. chapter: Gerhard Mücher,"Das Wesen der Kindheit und die Verantwortung des Erziehers", pp.237 ff.

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